Raymond D. Fogelson

Windigo Goes South: Stoneclad among the Cherokees[1]

This article examines the tradition amongst several Woodland Indian tribes of a race of manlike stone giants, with an origin predating that of mankind, who embody qualities abhorrent to native society and who act aggressively to obstruct, mislead, or destroy humans. The Stoneclad are thought to possess magical, superhuman powers, and shamans or heroes who vanquish these monsters are thereafter endowed with their powers, which they can then use to benefit their own society. The author presents two possible interpretations: that the Stoneclad represent the existence of evil in nature and define by negation evil in man; and that the Stoneclad embody specifically the forces of winter and their severe impact upon a primitive society.

Stone-covered anthropomorphic beings are well represented in the mythology of the Iroquoian-speaking peoples; seemingly related beings appear in the myths and beliefs of their Algonkian neighbors in the Eastern Woodlands and Subarctic. Sporadic reports of stone beings also occur elsewhere in North America, although a systematic search of the wider literature has not been attempted. Other defining attributes of these beings, besides their stonecovered bodies, often include such features as gigantic stature, cannibalistic appetite, and a heart of ice or quartz crystal. Secondary features sometimes associated with these mythic figures are a capacity for metamorphosis into human form (frequently transformation into a child or an old hag), the presence of a spear-shaped finger by which the livers of victims are extracted, a detached finger that indicates the direction of human game, and a magical cane that can be used as a weapon, sensing device, or be transformed into other useful objects. Stone beings are usually thought to come from the north and to have some affinity for caves and mountains. They are believed by the Indians and by themselves to be an autochthonous race predating the advent of human beings and to be independent of, and in opposition to, the spiritual beings who created mankind and who maintain responsibility for man's welfare.

Any analysis of myths from the Eastern Woodlands poses difficult problems. Much material was collected only after these narratives had lost their

sacred qualities and had passed into more public realms of folklore. There seem to be several strata of mythic themes and ideas represented. Some strata, doubtless, hark back to archaic times and perhaps ultimately to Asia. Other strata clearly relate to horticultural horizons and an evolved ceremonial cycle directed by sacred technicians. Dynamic processes of mythic formulation and reformulation continued and probably intensified with the European invasion of the New World that commenced in the sixteenth century. Besides the enormous time range with which we are dealing, we must also recognize that the Eastern Woodlands was a relatively open area. Migrations of people and ideas, both within and without the area, encountered few natural or cultural barriers. Such social factors as political alliances, trade relations, the adoption of captives, intermarriage, and even incorporation of alien tribal segments have greatly stimulated the diffusion of mythic motifs. I have reason to believe that the themes associated with Stoneclad reflect some of the deepest mythic strata in the Eastern Woodlands.[2] However, I see little hope of reconstructing a "pure" proto-myth, even if such a narrative ever existed. Yet I do feel that connections can be established between what now appear to be disparate myths, motifs, and beliefs and that through these connections the roots and meanings of Stoneclad can be approached.

I will first examine Stoneclad myths and associated beliefs among the Cherokees. Here I rely on published material as well as on data personally collected in the field. After this, the discussion will be expanded to encompass the linguistically related Huron-Wyandot and Northern Iroquois; this will be based on a fairly comprehensive but not exhaustive survey of the published literature referring to Stone Giants and related phenomena.[3] Next, specific features that seem to relate the Iroquoian material to certain Eastern and Northern Algonkian themes will be examined. Finally, some broader interpretative suggestions will be offered that may have implications for understanding the Sasquatch phenomena in the Northwest.

Brief variants of the Cherokee Stoneclad myth from Oklahoma and from North Carolina were published before the turn of the century by Herman ten Kate and James W. Terrell.[4] However, the first extended version of the myth was published in 1900 by James Mooney in his "Myths of the Cherokee."[5] Mooney collected this myth from his major informant, a medicine man named Swimmer, about 1888. I will present this version and use it as a basis for discussion of subsequent versions.

NÛÑ' YUNU' WĬ, THE STONE MAN

This is what the old men told me when I was a boy. Once when all the people of the settlement were out in the mountains on a great hunt

one man who had gone on ahead climbed to the top of a high ridge and found a large river on the other side. While he was looking across he saw an old man walking about on the opposite ridge, with a cane that seemed to be made of some bright, shining rock. The hunter watched and saw that every little while the old man would point his cane in a certain direction, then draw it back and smell the end of it. At last he pointed it in the direction of the hunting camp on the other side of the mountain, and this time when he drew back the staff he sniffed it several times as if it smelled very good, and then started along the ridge straight for the camp. He moved very slowly, with the help of the cane, until he reached the end of the ridge, when he threw the cane out into the air and it became a bridge of shining rock stretching across the river. After he had crossed over upon the bridge it became a cane again, and the old man picked it up and started over the mountain toward the camp.

The hunter was frightened, and felt sure that it meant mischief, so he hurried on down the mountain and took the shortest trail back to the camp to get there before the old man. When he got there and told his story the medicine-man said the old man was a wicked cannibal monster called Nûñ′ yunu′ wĭ, "Dressed in Stone," who lived in that part of the country, and was always going about the mountains looking for some hunter to kill and eat. It was very hard to escape from him, because his stick guided him like a dog, and it was nearly as hard to kill him, because his whole body was covered with a skin of solid rock. If he came he would kill and eat them all, and there was only one way to save themselves. He could not bear to look upon a menstrual woman, and if they could find seven menstrual women to stand in the path as he came along the sight would kill him.

So they asked among all the women, and found seven who were sick in that way, and with one of them it had just begun. By the order of the medicine-man they stripped themselves and stood along the path where the old man would come. Soon they heard Nûñ′ yunu′ wĭ coming through the woods, feeling his way with his stone cane. He came along the trail to where the first woman was standing, and as soon as he saw her he started and cried out: "Yu! my grandchild; you are in a very bad state!" He hurred past her, but in a moment he met the next woman, and cried out again: "Yu! my child; you are in a terrible way," and hurried past her, but now he was vomiting blood. He hurried on and met the third and the fourth and the fifth woman, but with each one that he saw his step grew weaker until when he came to the last one, with whom the sickness had just begun, the blood poured from his mouth and he fell down on the trail.

Then the medicine-man drove seven sourwood stakes through his body and pinned him to the ground, and when night came they piled great logs over him and set fire to them, and all the people gathered around to see. Nûñ′ yunu′ wĭ was a great ada′ wehĭ and knew many secrets, and now as the fire came close to him he began to talk, and told them the medicine for all kinds of sickness. At midnight he began to sing, and sang the hunting songs for calling up the bear and the deer and all the animals of the woods and mountains. As the blaze grew hotter his voice sank low and lower, until at last when daylight came, the logs were a heap of white ashes and the voice was still.

Then the medicine-man told them to rake off the ashes, and where the body had lain they found only a large lump of red wâ′dĭ paint and a magic u′lûñsû′ti stone. He kept the stone for himself, and calling the people around him he painted them, on face and breast, with the red wâ′ di, and whatever each person prayed for while the painting was being done—whether for hunting success, for working skill, or for a long life—that gift was his.

Also in Mooney's collection is a myth about an *Utlûnta*, or Spear-Finger, an old hag who menaces the Cherokee community by spearing and devouring the livers of children.[6] This ogress is finally identified and captured in a pit trap. All the arrows of the hunters fail to penetrate her stone-covered body. Finally, a chickadee directs the bowmen to aim at her right hand, where her spear finger and palm conjoin and where her heart is located. The Utlûnta is then killed. Mooney implies in his notes[7] that the Utlûnta is the female form of Stoneclad; some of his informants believe that they are husband and wife, the former slaying hunters in the woods and the latter murdering young children near their homes. There does seem to be some significant difference between these two monsters: the location of the heart,[8] the failure to cremate the remains of the Utlûnta, and the absence of any ceremonial gifts from the dying Utlûnta.[9] Another valuable version of the Spear-Finger myth was collected in Oklahoma by John B. Davis.[10] Here Spear-Finger is a female witch with a stone body who derives her power from sleeping with the chief of the underwater monsters. When she is finally killed with an arrow to the hand, her corpse is burned for seven days, after which all that remains is a scale and tip of the horn of the water monster.

A second major rendering of the Stoneclad myth was collected in the late 1930's from Will West Long, an Eastern Cherokee traditionalist, and is recorded by Frank Speck and Leonard Broom in their *Cherokee Dance and Drama*[11]. This version conforms closely to the one collected by Mooney,

although it is imbued with a more sacred and primordial quality. Here Stoneclad transforms himself into an orphan, is adopted into a family, and devours the livers of young children. These are the first deaths to occur in the world. Finally the monster is brought down by the seven menstruating women, and in his fiery death ordeal he sings different medicine and dance songs to offset the death and disease that he has let loose in the world. Stones from his body become specialized divining crystals. Speck and Broom remark that Stoneclad can transform himself into the old woman with the sharp forefinger, thereby suggesting that Stoneclad and Utlûnta are but different aspects of the same being.[12]

The Stoneclad myth still has some circulation among conservative Eastern Cherokees. Recent Cherokee informants of Jack and Anna Kilpatrick in Oklahoma knew about Stoneclad but could not, or would not, narrate the myth.[13] I had the good fortune to tape record a long version of the myth in 1960 from Elódi, a knowledgeable Eastern Cherokee medicine man. In this version Stoneclad resides in the mountains in a rock shelter and would kill deer hunters who ventured into his domain. He bludgeoned his victims to death with his stone cane, then used his awl finger to make an incision in the backs of their necks, and proceeded to suck out their blood. A medicine man sent three young men out to discover the fate of the missing hunters. Two of the boys were killed by Stoneclad, but the third managed to escape and inform the medicine man about their monstrous enemy. A plan of action utilizing women was formulated—but in this instance only four, instead of seven, young girls were employed.[14] Stoneclad grew sick when he encountered the exposed thighs of the young girls. He began vomiting the blood of the hunters he had slain, stumbled around drunkenly, and finally collapsed. He was tied to a pole, roasted to a slow night-long death,[15] meanwhile singing specialized medicine songs. All that remained in the morning ashes was his crystal heart. This was broken up and distributed to different medicine men to serve as powerful divining instruments. By scrying and interpreting revealed signs in the crystal, the future could be foretold and answers to critical questions obtained. My friend, Elódi, compared divining crystals to the telescopes and microscopes of the Western scientist.

Additional information was elicited concerning the *ulûnsû'ti,* or Stoneclad's heart. Faithful to its origin, the crystal required as a weekly sacrifice a drop of blood.[16] Preferably this would be human blood obtained by pricking the finger with a pin or sharp instrument; animal blood might be substituted in certain circumstances. If these regular blood offerings were neglected, the spirit of Stoneclad, which was still felt to inhere in the crystal, would become uneasy. It would travel around, bother people, and try other means to slake its thirst for blood. When not being consulted the crystal was carefully

wrapped in deerskin and stored in a special stone niche within a dry rock shelter. One of the reasons for secreting the crystal was to protect it against the baleful influence of menstruating women. The rock shelter in which the crystal was stored could only be approached by laying down a path of seven rocks; these rocks were picked up on the return trip out of the hiding place. It seems as if human beings had to be properly insulated or "grounded" when coming near so powerful an object.

I was also told that the crystal was wrapped up with other ritual objects including the tusks, claws, or whiskers of seven or eight different animals, perhaps having totemic significance; also included were four divinatory beads coloured red, white, black, and blue, representing the four cardinal directions, and ceremonially treated old tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*). The wrapping of these objects in deerskin is consistent with several Cherokee ideas. Deerskins were the prime trade commodity and became a standard of exchange during the Colonial period. Later, cloth was substituted for deerskin as the medium of exchange. On another level Cherokees feel that objects containing intrinsic power, including medicinal plants, must not be kept "naked" lest their powers become dissipated.

The preceding data clearly indicate the survival of medicine bundles among the Eastern Cherokees until quite recent times. The general existence of medicine bundles in the Southeast has been under-reported, although in recent years Louis Capron and William Sturtevant have independently discovered their use among the Florida Seminoles.[17]

According to oral testimony personally gathered in Oklahoma, late nineteenth-century Cherokee outlaws in the Indian Territory sometimes used small personal crystals to elude pursuing lawmen. The last divining crystal among the Eastern Cherokees reputedly was cared for by John Axe, a traditionalist who died about 1900. Statements in the Payne-Butrick manuscripts[18] indicate that it was customary for a medicine man or priest to bequeath his crystal and instructions for its use to a favorite disciple. In a very real sense the death of John Axe marked the end of a tradition, for he was unable to find a suitable successor. Before his death, he is said to have hid his crystal in a nearby mountain cave and placed seven rattlesnakes near the entry to discourage would-be fortune hunters.

Three other Cherokee myths recorded by Mooney, myself, and others invite brief discussion here because of their connections to the Stoneclad saga and to broader comparative issues that will be considered later. On first examination the Cherokee story of Flint and the Rabbit[19] seems an innocent folktale integrated into a larger cycle of Rabbit-trickster tales. These tales were told for amusement or moral instruction and lacked sacred qualities. In this folktale Rabbit is delegated by the other animals to visit

Flint, a being who lives in the mountains and has been killing animals in great numbers.[20] When Flint denies Rabbit the hospitality of his home, Rabbit invites Flint to his house for dinner. They eat picnic-style outside the Rabbit's dwelling. After dinner, Rabbit carves a wooden wedge and mallet. When Flint finally falls into a deep sleep, Rabbit drives the wedge into his flint-covered body and scurries away to his hole. There is a tremendous explosion of flint shrapnel. Rabbit is hit seven times in his anus, an event that some Cherokee narrators feel accounts for the Rabbit's peculiar pattern of pellet-like defecation; in turning around to see what hit him, Rabbit is struck in the face by a stray piece of flying flint, thus resulting in his split upper lip.

In his notes Mooney realizes that this tale involves more than an explanation of peculiarities of rabbit anatomy.[21] The Cherokee name for flint (and Flint), *tawiskala*, is directly cognate with the Iroquois term, *tawiskaron*. Tawiskaron refers to flint, ice, and to the devious mythical twin brother of the primal Iroquois culture hero, Tarachiawagon, also referred to as Sapling, Of Good Mind, Holder of the Heavens, and a host of other names. As is well known, the Algonkian culture hero/trickster, Nanabozho, often takes the form of a giant hare. Moreover, the same basic antithetical myth structure is found in many Algonkian cosmogonic myths wherein the good brother may be associated with east, sunrise, light, and life and his fraternal antagonist with west, sunset, darkness, and death. This, at least, was the early symbolic interpretation advanced by Daniel Garrison Brinton in 1868.[22] J. N. B. Hewitt sees a similar structural opposition but rotates the axis clockwise ninety degrees, so that the good brother represents south, warmth, sun, and summer, while the bad or contrary brother signifies north, cold, ice, and winter.[2] The Iroquois and many Algonkian groups personify Winter as an ice-covered or exposed skeletal figure. A slight Cherokee story involving Winter Man was collected by Mooney.[24] A Cherokee village was engaged in the annual fall burning of the brush, when the fire got out of control and began to burn an ever-widening hole in the ground that threatened to engulf the entire world. They summoned the Winter Man from his home in the north, and he responded with snow, hail storms, and heavy rain that finally extinguished the fire.

Thus the Cherokee tale of Flint and the Rabbit seems to be a vestigial remnant of a more deeply grounded and widely spread oscillating cosmogonic struggle between the forces of good and evil (or not good), creation and destruction, life and death, and summer and winter. But even in its attenuated form, the figure of Flint bears obvious similarities to Stoneclad. Both are primarily identified with a petrous material, both are man-killers, and both can bestow magico-medical and other practical boons upon mankind after they are overcome.

The Cherokees also have a profusion of myths about a monstrous, dragon-like, anthropophagous, aquatic serpent called the Uktena.[25] This type of creature has a widespread distribution in the belief systems of native North America. It is reported for the Iroquois, Creeks, the Shawnee (where interestingly the monster is vanquished with the aid of a menstruating woman), the Eastern Algonkians, Central Algonkians, the Yuroks, various Siouan-speaking groups, and elsewhere, including the Northwest Coast. Among the Dakota the underwater monster is called *Unkéhi*, probably ultimately cognate with the Cherokee Uktena, and this term can be extended by Dakota to refer to large extinct animals in general whose buried bones are sometimes uncovered on the Plains.[26] Obviously, the notion of underwater monsters is not restricted to native North America. Besides similarities to Chinese and European dragon-lore, and even the ripples of excitement generated by the possible existence of the Loch Ness monster, similar kinds of beings seem represented by the Melanesian *Marsalai* and the Australian Rainbow Serpent.

However, returning to Cherokee beliefs about the Uktena, several features of this mythic water monster show resemblances to Stoneclad. First, the scaley epidermis of the Uktena was also impervious to the spears and arrows of human hunters. Nevertheless, like Spear-Finger and Flint, there was a vulnerable locus on the seventh scale of the head or body. Like Stoneclad, the Uktena represents a primeval being, a survivor from the pre-human era of world creation. Finally and most importantly, the Uktena possessed a shining crystal jewel, an *ulûnsû'ti* or crystal, on the top of his head.

In several myths this carbuncle is liberated from the slain monster and serves as a major sacred tribal talisman. Its existence and mythic origin is attested to by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake and by James Adair in their descriptions of eighteenth-century Cherokee life.[27]

A great amount of information about the use of sacred crystals in Cherokee ritual is contained in the Payne-Butrick manuscripts. This material was collected from older informants in the 1830's by the celebrated playwright, actor, and adventurer John Howard Payne and by missionary Daniel S. Butrick. They describe five different-sized quartz crystals that were employed for different purposes. The largest crystals were used for war. These were sometimes carried into battle along with sacred war fire in a portable box, or "ark." These crystals might also be enclosed in a weasel-skin bag and worn on the breast of the war chief. There are indirect indications that the war crystal might have been associated with Stoneclad's heart, since it is addressed as "Man eater," and it was customary to rub blood from the scalp of a slain enemy on the stone. In divining the outcome of war or in determining the duration of peace, the crystal was placed on the fleshy side of a fresh deerskin that was laid on the west floor of the council house with the head oriented to

the central fire and eastern door. A line of animal blood was brushed on the deerskin before the *ulûnsû'ti* was placed down, and various omens were interpreted.

Slightly smaller than the war crystals were the divining stones of the civic priests. These were primarily used to determine the future presence or absence of disease in the community. The ulûnsati could be placed on a deerskin-covered post, on a pile of seven folded deerskins, or in the crevice of a building to catch the light of the rising sun. These stones were also sometimes worn as a pendant around the neck of the priest.

The next smallest crystal was used to trace lost or stolen objects. The location of the missing object, often accompanied by the face of the thief, would appear in the stone. Still smaller crystals were consulted by hunters to predict if, and how much, game would be killed. The smallest crystals were used by individual conjurors to predict an individual's longevity and to answer questions involved with love magic. The three smallest crystals would be hidden on the body in no fixed place, somewhat analogous to the mobile or misplaced heart of Spear-finger.[28]

I have not dwelt on the highly elaborated usage of magical stones among the traditional Cherokee as a sterile exercise in ethnominerology, but rather to establish a parallelism between ritual usage and differentiated origin as revealed in surviving myths. Some divining crystals originated in whole or as fragments from the heart of Stoneclad. Other talismans seem to have come from Stoneclad's outer covering. Still other divining stones derive from the crown or scales of the serpentine Uktena.

Important for later consideration is the generic Cherokee name for quartz crystal, *ulûnsû'ti*. This same word in modern Cherokee is used for glass, as in drinking glass. Although its etymology cannot be traced, the term embraces connotations of transparency, translucence, a substance through which light can penetrate. As was mentioned previously, the term for flint or chert, both as a mineral and as a mythic being, is tawiskala. The Cherokee language also preserves a related and perhaps more fundamental term, *tawiska* or *tawiskaga*, meaning 'smooth' or 'slick'.[29]

We will now examine some related myths and beliefs from the Huron-Wyandots and Northern Iroquois. In his extensive volume on *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, the Canadian anthropologist and folklorist, C. Marius Barbeau, provides several accounts of *strendu*, or Flinty Giants. Many of these narratives are virtually identical with recorded Seneca myths and doubtless reflect the long association of the Huron and Wyandot with the western Iroquois. In general, these Flinty Giants possessed a flint or stone exterior, were cannibalistic, utilized a detached finger to locate human victims, and were rather naive and easily tricked. A strendu could be tem-

porarily tamed by human kindness and assistance. In one myth a bucket of lard is kept for the strendu to drink and thereby forget his hunger for human meat. It should be noted here that boiling lard or grease was frequently used by Algonkians as a remedy to melt the icy heart of a Windigo cannibal or human being suspected of being in the initial stages of undergoing such a transformation. The Flinty Giants had vulnerable places on their bodies, such as their eyes, mouths, armpits, or soles of the feet. They could also be beaten to death with blocks (or pillows) of basswood.

Barbeau cites interesting material on the origin of the Wyandot Stone Giants from a previously published work by W. F. Connelley.[30] According to this source, the Stone Giants, or *Hōōh-strāh-dooh'*, were created by Tawiskaron, or Flint, to aid him in his battle for supremacy against his twin brother, Tarachiawagon, the culture hero. The stone coats of these giants were formed by smearing crude pine turpentine over their bodies and rolling around on dry beach sand. This process was repeated until the desired thickness was achieved. To offset this new menace, Tarachiawagon, with a fine instinct for structural complementarity, created a race of dwarfs, or Little People, who eventually succeeded in divesting the giants of their protective armor. The Stone Giants were so reduced in number that the few survivors fled to the woods where they live a solitary life, killing occasional travelers who stray into their domain.

The material on Stone Giants and related beings is quite rich amongst the Iroquois. However, the amount of material, along with its past and ongoing reinterpretation, makes the information difficult to disentangle. Besides the familiar attributes of gigantic size, stone covering, and cannibalism, the Iroquois believed these monsters to possess a detached direction-finding finger, an acute sense of hearing, powerful spittle, an ability to walk under water, and a northern origin. In many myths blundering Stone Giants are outwitted by their human adversaries. According to the early account of David Cusick,[31] the Stone Giants were once ordinary humans who wandered into the wilderness, became addicted to raw fish, and wallowed in the sand until their bodies grew to gigantic proportions and their skin became so encrusted that they became immune to arrows. Arthur Parker collected a Seneca text that accords well with Cusick's.[32] The children of a boney northern race of raw-meat-eating giants rub their skin with dry sand until it becomes so calloused with scabs and sand that it takes on the consistency of stone. Other native Iroquois mythologists claimed that Stone Men were born that way.[33] These northern giants began to tire of their diet of animal flesh and raw fish, and they began to move south in search of human game. They succeeded in devouring many Indians by attacking at night and hiding out in caves during daylight. With their success the Stone Giants grew arrogant and

chided the creator god, Tarachiawagon, by claiming to be as great as he and to have created themselves. The terrorized Indians were helpless against the Stone Giants. They deserted their villages and prayed to Tarachiawagon, but the toll of human life continued to mount. At last, fearing that his creation, mankind, would be exterminated unless he intervened, Tarachiawagon sent an agent, sometimes identified as the West Wind, sometimes as Thunder, to destroy the Stone Giants. In one version of the myth the advancing army of Stone Giants is entrapped in a narrow defile and is crushed by boulders blown down upon them by the West Wind. In another version the Holder of Heaven causes such a mighty earthquake that the caves in which the Stone Giants are hiding collapse, and they are buried forever under the rubble,[34]

However, one of the Stone Giants, *Genonsgwa*, managed to survive the disaster and escaped to a cave in the Allegheny mountains. He continued his defiance of Tarachiawagon and the latter's allies, the Thunder spirits. In time, however, Genonsgwa became more human as his anger began to subside. Yet he was still powerful and merciless against those who trespassed against him.[35] A corner of his cave was filled with their bones.

One day a hunter was caught in a fearsome hailstorm and unknowingly sought refuge in Genonsgwa's cave. The terrifying monster confronted the hunter, but decided to spare him, since he realized the hunter intended no harm. Genonsgwa identified himself as the last of his race—a powerful race that had witnessed the creation of the world long before the coming of human beings. He claimed that the spirits of his brothers continued to live in the trees of the forest and that they had much wisdom which they wished to impart to mankind: "how disease is healed"; "how man and beast and plant have the same great kind of life"; and "how man and beast and plant may talk together and learn each other's mission." He urged the hunter to dream, and he would see the faces of these dead kinsmen. He was instructed to carve their images in the living basswood trees. The hunter did as he was instructed and spent a score of years in the forest, carving masks and gaining knowledge. Finally, his apprenticeship was over, and Genonsgwa ordered the hunter to return to his people in order to establish the False Face Society.[36]

There are, of course, many other Iroquois myths in which other beings are defeated in power contests with Tarachiawagon and become the founders of the False Face Society. However, this version bears some striking similarities with the Cherokee myth of Stoneclad. Both Genonsgwa and Stoneclad are associated with stone and caves, and both reverse their roles from devourers to benefactors of mankind. In his book on Handsome Lake, Anthony Wallace has constructed a credible synthesis of different versions of the origin of the False Face Society.[37] The giant World Rim Dweller, sometimes associated with the Whirlwind, and a whole host of other spiritual beings who undo the creative acts of Tarachiawagon are interpreted by Wallace to be but symbols

or aspects of Tawiskaron, Flint, or the Devious One. It is Tawiskaron who creates bats, frogs, owls, worms, snakes, and monsters. When Tarachiawagon makes the rivers flow freely in opposite currents, Tawiskaron makes them flow in only one direction, and he also creates waterfalls, rapids, whirlpools, and underwater serpents. The good brother cultivates the corn bequeathed him by his dead mother, but his opposite twin introduces corn blight, hailstones, and ice. Tawiskaron, with help from his grandmother, manages to steal the sun for a brief time, before it is recaptured and returned to its present course. To Tawiskaron is attributed the invention of disease and death.

In the end, the power of Tawiskaron is neutralized by Tarachiawagon. However, to conceptualize Tawiskaron as simply an evil and entropic force is to miss his significance in Iroquois cosmology. Tawiskaron is a necessary complement in creating the world as we now know it. Without evil there can be no sense of good, life must be counterposed by death, happiness by sorrow, health by illness, light by darkness, summer by winter, and human beings by monstrous beings.

In contrast to the available Cherokee material, the Huron, Wyandot, and Iroquois mythic data reveal a close relationship between the Stone Giants and Tawiskaron. The Stone Giants appear as creations, transformations, or allies of Tawiskaron. This close relationship is documented even more convincingly by J. N. B. Hewitt's etymological analysis of the word Tawiskaron. The nominal stem *-wiskar-* occurs in the terms for 'ice', 'hail', and 'sleet'. These latter derive from the noun *owis ă*, which has the meaning of 'ice', 'hail', 'sleet', 'frozen snow', 'glare ice', and, in modern usage, 'glass goblet'. Combining the nominal stem with the prefix and suffixes, Hewitt renders the literal meaning of Tawiskaron as 'He is arrayed in ice in a double degree'. This expression connotes an anthropomorphic figure covered with ice, or more metaphorically, the power of winter transformed into a man-being. Hewitt goes on to derive the original meaning of the nominal stem *-wiskar-* as 'crystal', 'smooth', 'slippery', and 'slick'. Thus the original stem came to designate ice, on the one hand, and flint or chert on the other.

These linguistic connections seem to unite ice, flint, crystal, and glass as objects of a single class. Presumably the qualities linking these objects together would include smoothness, hardness, translucence, and, perhaps, similar patterns of fracturability. However, stone and flint, as exterior body coverings, seem an insufficient criterion to establish an equivalence between the Cherokee Stoneclad, the Iroquoian Flint and Stone Giants, Tawiskaron (or Tawiskala), or the postulated prototype of the Winter man-being covered with ice. Flint and stone seem like surface features in more ways than one. Another dimension based on interior features of these beings would make the equivalence more convincing

Once again J. N. B. Hewitt comes to our rescue by presenting a variant mythic encounter between Tawiskaron and Tarachiawagon. Tawiskaron desires some of the corn that was entrusted to Tarachiawagon. Quoting Hewitt:

> On hearing this request Tarachiawagon replied that he would consent on the condition that Tawiskaron surrender to him "the flint whereby thou livest." To this Flint replied, "What doest thou mean? Dost thou mean my arrow with the point of flint?" To which the reply came, "No; I mean, indeed, that flint which is *in* thy body." To this Flint answered, "So be it as thou dost wish it." Then opening his mouth, he thrust out the flint thing in question. His brother seized it and gently pulled it; he would not break it off, although Flint asked him to do so. "Verily," his brother answered, "thy life belongs to thee, so thou thyself must break it off and give it to me, for on no other condition can our compact be fulfilled." So, reluctantly, Flint performed his part of the agreement whereupon his brother gave him two grains of the corn, one for the grandmother and one for himself. By this act Tawiskaron lost his birthright of co-equal *orenda*, or magic power.[38]

Hewitt goes on to liken the extruded inner flint to an icicle and suggests an analogy with the inner essence of the Winter God. For purposes of the present argument, this vital internal flint substance can be considered to be the structural equivalent of Stoneclad's quartz crystal heart.

The mythology of the Algonkian-speaking peoples of the Eastern Woodlands and Subarctic is exceedingly complex and displays a high degree of internal differentiation. Nonetheless, some salient continuities can be traced with mythic themes already outlined for the Iroquoian-speaking peoples.

In the northeastern Algonkian area we find beliefs about such related cannibalistic giants as the Montagnais *Atcen*, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot *Ki wa'kwe*, and the Micmac *Chenoo* or *Djenu*.[39] These beings can be of either sex and generally lack stone coverings, although the Penobscot giant is sometimes described as having a three-inch hard outer shell built up from layers of balsam pitch.[40] Rather than being considered as a separate primordial species, the existence of these monsters is usually explained in terms of human metamorphosis. This transformation is often symbolized by prolonged exposure to cold, which eventuates in a frozen heart or a piece of ice in the stomach; the effective cause of the transformation is frequently thought to be possession by an evil spirit or sorcerer and/or the eating of the heart or liver of one of these monsters. Such cannibal giants have an affinity

for the north, to which direction they repair in summer. The principal means of conquering these monsters is to have special shamanistic powers to enable one to become equally monstrous. Battles between "good" and "bad" monsters were fought to the death with uprooted tree trunks or magical stakes (often of sumac)[41] and resembled shamanistic medicine fights of the Western Subarctic and Siberia. When the monster was killed, the body had to be thoroughly cremated and the inner ice melted to forestall regeneration. The victorious monster could be restored to "normal" human form and feeling by swallowing hot grease or tallow to melt his icy innards. Also, several myths in the northeastern area indicate that these monsters can sometimes be temporarily domesticated by human kindness and become valuable allies.

This general type of monster seems closely related to the Iroquoian Stone Giants and can, of course, be readily identified with the more anthropologically celebrated Windigo or Weetigo of the Central Algonkian Chippewa, Ojibwa, and Cree. However, since Windigo among the latter peoples most often refers to abnormal changes of state, in either a pathological or nonpathological sense, the hypothesized connections between these varieties of monstrosity will be supported by further examination of Central Algonkian mythology and religious beliefs.

The twin deities of the Iroquois find analogues in Central Algonkian cosmogony. Among the Peoria and related groups the original brothers were said to be quadruplets. Two of the brothers either perish, are banished, or are amalgamated with the two remaining brothers. We are left with the culture hero *cum* trickster, Nanabozho—or Glookap, Wisakedjah, Wenebojo, or any one of the other names he bears in different groups, contexts, and transformations—and with Chakekenapok (in some versions the younger, in others the older, brother) who is identified with stone, white flint, or ice.[42] In the Lac Du Flambeau Chippewa version of the Wenebojo origin myth, as recited by Tom Badger and collected by Victor Barnouw,[43] Wenebojo is the eldest of triplets, the second brother becomes the spiritual guide to the land of the dead, and the third brother, Stone (*Maskásaswabik*), instructs Wenebojo as to how to kill him: he is heated under an intense fire and doused with water. Barnouw here speculates that this form of fratricide may have some connection to the traditional sweat bath, but I think it may be related to the implicit association of stone with ice. Other variants of this myth from the Court Oreilles Chippewa bring out additional familiar elements. In one, Wenebojo's protagonist is clearly identified as Flint.[44] In another variant the opposing brother lives on an island of solid rock surrounded by pitch, which can only be neutralized by whale oil, and chops shells from his shins; he proves impervious to Wenebojo's arrows, until a chickadee indicates a braid of hair where the brother is mortally vulnerable.[45]

The Algonkian Nanabozho or Wenebojo clearly relates to the Iroquois

culture hero, Tarachiawagon, although there are some interesting differences between the two. Tarachiawagon is beneficent, generative, and moral; in some sense his humanity edges toward such perfection that he becomes non-human, almost a "goody two-shoes." Nanabozho is more the amoral trickster, childish and impulsive, destructive as well as creative; he eventually assumes the form of the Great Hare. The previously discussed Cherokee folktale about Flint and the Rabbit probably has direct Algonkian ancestry, perhaps coming into the Southeast through the agency of the Shawnees.

The Algonkian Chakekenapok, 'Man of Flint' or 'Fire Stone', occupies a parallel position with Tawiskaron in Iroquois mythology, even down to the detail of matricide through unnatural birth. Again, however, differences can be noted. The Algonkian figure tends to be less destructive and more passive than his Iroquoian counterpart. When defeated by his brother, he assumes no particular role towards mankind. Nevertheless, the identification of the two figures is secure. In some Algonkian languages, such as Chippewa, the words for flint and ice are cognate. Finally, one of the cognomens of Chakekenapok is Windigo.[46]

Thus it seems as if the human condition or transformation labelled Windigo is deeply embedded in a widely ramifying folkloristic and mythic substratum. Whether the similarities between Iroquoian and Algonkian monsters are the results of recent diffusion or descent from a common prototypical ancestor, such as the personification of Winter, cannot be satisfactorily resolved on the basis of the available material. Indeed, such questions seem anachronistic in contemporary anthropology. However, I think the material presented here does make it possible to establish kinship between the southeastern Stoneclad, with his heart of quartz crystal, and the northern Windigo, with his heart of ice.

In conclusion, I will attempt to draw out some of the wider implications of the material discussed in this paper. At first glance the material presented would seem to lend itself to a structural analysis. Certainly the data abound in oppositions, mediations, and transformations. One could envision an interlocking nest of mediated paradigmatic oppositions in order to analyze structural relations obtaining between, for example, ordinary blood and menstrual blood, between blood and pitch, between pitch and stone, between stone and fire, between fire and ice, between ice and crystal, between crystal and blood, between blood and stone, and so forth, in ever-oscillating spirals. What is the significance of basswood, sumac, grease, and chickadees? Do the connecting myth cycles symbolize the alternation of summer and winter, or life and death? Can the gross constituent elements in the plot structures of the myths be broken down and rearranged to reveal hidden messages? Such an effort seems premature without firmer ethnographic control and historical anchoring. Like the exploded body of Tawiskala, the material seems too

fragmented to reconstruct in any convincing fashion. Moreover, the results of such formal analysis might prove to be rather mechanical and probably would obscure what I take to be some of the evident meanings inherent in Stoneclad and related monsters. Rather than mine deep structural depths for buried riches, I prefer to pan for surface gold.

A useful beginning might be to rethink what we mean by the term monster. Monsters can be thought about from both semantic and pragmatic perspectives.

By semantics I mean those attributes that define what a monster is. Social scientists have of late rediscovered what perceptive humanistic scholars have long recognized—that monsters represent ambiguous or confabulated beings. The German art historian Heinz Mode has offered a nearly exhaustive typology for classifying monsters: "Animal-men"—essentially human forms with certain animal features or animal forms with human posture (such as angels, satyrs, or Lewis Caroll's March Hare); "Man-animals"—essentially animal forms with certain human features or an unmistakable animal posture (such as the sphinx, centaur); "Animal-monsters"—composite animal beings incorporating features from different animals (such as dragons, Uktenas, Pegasus); "Reduplicated or simplified shapes and combinations" (such as double-headed figures, cyclops)—also included here are expanded or reduced figures, such as dwarfs and giants; and man-made objects and natural phenomena in the shape of living beings (such as personified automobiles, Flint, the Winter Spirit).[47] As elegant as this schema appears, it doesn't easily accommodate many of the North American monsters considered here. Even Sasquatch experts would debate whether that being should be classified as a man-animal or animal-man.

The distinguishing physical aspects of the monsters discussed here are their enlarged size, frequent association with inanimate minerals (stone, crystal, flint), and displaced or transferred internal organs (moveable heart or heart of ice).

Other semantic dimensions that could be used to classify monsters might include moral and characterological attributes and origins. The monsters treated in this paper display exceptional power, lack of moral restraint, gluttony, egoism, and frequent stupidity. They originate either from a primordial being or group, or they can acquire their distinctive attributes through deliberate action or metamorphosis.

In attempting to define monsters pragmatically we focus on what they do, as manifested in behavior. All the monsters discussed here are anthropophagous and prey on human communities. They are also at odds with spiritual beings supportive of mankind. Monsters behave anti-culturally in trying to upset or invert the good works of the primary creative deities and culture heroes. They embody the realm of nature rather than culture.

All these semantic and pragmatic features that contribute to defining particular types of monsters must be viewed contrastively. On a more general level, it should be pointed out that monsters cannot exist classificatorily, except in opposition to others. Thus a universal function of monsters is to define what is human through contrast and opposition. This marking function shows up clearly in the types of monsters reviewed in this paper. They serve to mark off different "races," different eras, different creations, and different propensities.

However, the body of myths presented here transcends the simple boundary problem of separating man from monster. Once certain differences have been established, they are subsequently dissolved. Differences between the human race and the monster race become blurred; different eras are united through transmission of significant information; separate creations are shown to be continuous; monstrous propensities become more humanized. Monsters must have victims, but in this process of blurring and dissolution there is a role reversal and the victim vanquishes the victimizer. With Stoneclad, the devourer of men is finally consumed by man's culture, which the former monster then enriches by bequeathing medicine songs and his crystal heart. Genonsgwa becomes humanized and leaves as a legacy the mysteries of the False Face Society. Chippewa shamans must themselves attain the powers of the Windigo to overcome this dreaded adversary.

Perhaps something of this same general pattern can be discerned for Sasquatch. According to Wayne Suttles' presentation at this symposium, the native image of Sasquatch has undergone dramatic change over the years. In the native bestiary he was perceived as a fearsome monster who stole women and devoured children. Doubtless as a result of the white man's interest in Sasquatch as a possible hominid ancestor or cousin, plus the economic value of Sasquatch as a commercial totem, the frightful beast is now seen as benign, gentle, and timid. In brief, Sasquatch has become demonsterized: the hunter has become the hunted, and Sasquatch's skin has become a veritable Golden Fleece.

Finally, I think these related myths and monstrous beings concern universal human problems. They involve rationalizing the inevitable existence of evil in this world, particularly in the form of fear, suffering, disease, and death. These myths constitute a Native American theodicy adapted to a finite and transitory world. The Stone Giants are Titans living in the margins of an Olympian universe; Stoneclad singing the medicine songs from his funeral pyre is a Prometheus ever hopeful of easing man's misery and making mankind more human; and the ancient creators and diminishing number of narrators of these myths are still trying to establish contact and communicate their wisdom.

Notes

* In the spelling of the native words in this paper, accent marks (') indicate stressed vowels. Other marks on vowels have the following values: â as in "all"; û as in "cut"; ûñ nasalizes the û. The 'is a diacritic aspiration of the previous vowel, accented.

1. Grateful acknowledgement is hereby given to the Museum of Anthropology and the Centre for Continuing Education, University of British Columbia (with the assistance of the Canada Council and the University of British Columbia Press), plus the Litchstern Fund of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, for travel expenses to the Conference on the Anthropology of the Unknown—Sasquatch and Similar Phenomena, for which this paper was written. I would also like to thank Jay Miller, Robert Brightman, Paul Friedrich, Thomas Buckley, Amelia Walker, and Susan Fogelson for useful comments and help, and Jennifer Rike for typing.

2. It has been suggested that the impenetrable stone bodies of these beings may be an indirect reference to European armour. I hope to show, however, that petrous symbolism is deeply imbedded in Eastern Woodland mythology.

3. The Huron and Iroquois sources consulted include: David Cusick, "Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations," in *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. 5, ed. H.R. Schoolcraft (1825; reprint ed., Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1855); Erminnie A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," in Bureau of Ethnology, *Annual Report* 2 (1880–81) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 51–115; J.N.B. Hewitt, "Tawiskaron," in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, pt. 2, ed. F.W. Hodge (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910) and *Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths; collected by Jeremiah Curtain and J.N.B. Hewitt*, ed. J.N.B. Hewitt, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report* 32 (1910–11) Washington, [1911]; C.M. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 80, Anthropoligical series, no. 11 (Ottawa, 1915); Frederick Waugh, manuscript (1915–18), Waugh Collection of Iroquois Folktales, American Philosophical Society; Arthur C. Parker, *Seneca Myths and Folktales*, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. 27 ([n.d.]); and Jesse Cornplanter, *Legends of the Longhouse* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1938).

4. Ten Kate, "Legends of the Cherokees," *Journal of American Folklore* 2 (1889): 53–55 and Terrell, "The Demon of Consumption," *Journal of American Folklore* 5 (1892): 125–26.

5. "Myths of the Cherokee," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1897–98*. pt. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 319–20.

6. Ibid., pp. 316–19.

7. Ibid., p. 467.

8. In the apparently derivative Creek version of the tale, the Big Rock Man proves vulnerable to an arrow shot in the ear (John R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 88. [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929], p. 38).

9. In the ten Kate version the Utlûnta's stone exterior breaks apart and individual stones are preserved as amulets; the male counterpart retreats to the north (ten Kate, "Legends of the Cherokees," p. 54).

10. "The Liver Eater: A Cherokee Story," in *Annals of Archeology and Anthropology*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: The University Press, 1909), pp. 134–38.

11. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951.)

12. Ibid., p. 16.

13. See their *Friends of Thunder: Folktales of the Oklahoma Cherokees* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1964), pp. 51–61.

14. Both seven and four are sacred numbers in Cherokee numerology.
15. According to the notes of Frans Olbrechts the fuel used to burn Stoneclad was basswood (*Tilia americana L.*) (quoted in Jack F. Kilpatrick and Anna G. Kilpatrick, Eastern Cherokee Folktales: Reconstructed from the Fieldnotes of Frans M. Olbrechts, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 196 [Anthropological Papers, no. 80] [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966], p. 397).
16. The relationship between blood and crystal was probably strengthened by the fact that rutile quartz (crystal with a red mineral flaw) was common in the Southeast.
17. Capron, "The Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole and the Green Corn Dance," in Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 151 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 155–210 and Sturtevant, "The Medicine Bundles and Busks of the Florida Seminole," *Florida Anthropologist* 7 (1954): 31–72.
18. The John Howard Payne-Daniel Sabin Butrick manuscripts are on deposit in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago.
19. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," pp. 274–75.
20. The condensed symbolism here doubtless relates to the use of flint for spear points and arrowheads.
21. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 451.
22. *The Myths of the New World: A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America* (New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1868), pp. 161–72.
23. Hewitt, "Tawiskaron," p. 708.
24. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," pp. 322–23.
25. Charles Hudson has recently completed a richly textured analysis of the Uktena in a paper presented to the Cherokee-Iroquois Symposium held in Cherokee, North Carolina, in April, 1978, which is expected to appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Cherokee Studies*.
26. See Albert S. Gatschet, "Water Monsters of American Aborigines," *Journal of American Folklore* 12 (1899): 255–60.
27. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, *Memoirs, 1756–1765*, ed. S.C. Williams (Johnson City, Tenn.: [n.p.], 1927), pp. 74–75; Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1775), pp. 86–87, 237–38.
28. James Adair also mentions the use of a crystal to bring rain, which he sarcastically considers a neat feat given the heavy annual precipitation in the Cherokee area (Adair, *American Indian*, p. 86).
29. Hewitt, "Tawiskaron," p. 408.
30. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, pp. 314–15.
31. Cusick, "Sketches," p. 637.
32. Parker, *Seneca Myths*, p. 394.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., pp. 394–96.
35. Ibid., pp. 396–97.
36. Ibid., pp. 397–400.
37. Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 89–93.
38. Hewitt, "Tawiskaron," p. 709.
39. The four terms are found in, respectively: Frank G. Speck, "Some Naskapi Myths from Little Whale River," *Journal of American Folklore* 28 (1915): 77; Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Religious Beliefs," *Journal of American Folklore* 48 (1935): 13–14; 81–82 Charles C. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884), pp. 233–54; and Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth S. Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953), pp. 343–45.
40. Speck, "Penobscot Tales," p. 81.
41. Robert L. Hall, cited in Victor Barnouw, *Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales and Their Relation to Chippewa Life* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), pp. 122–33, suggests a symbolic association of fire with sumac, in that the germination of sumac is

aided by fire, a fact that may or may not have been recognized by the Indians. Thus sumac as a symbol of fire and heat might serve as a natural opposition to the ice associated with the cannibal giants.

42. See J.N.B. Hewitt, "Nanabozho," in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, pt. 2, ed. F.W. Hodge (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), pp. 19–23.
43. Barnouw, *Wisconsin Chippewa Myths*, pp. 13–45.
44. Ibid., p. 74.
45. Ibid., pp. 73–74.
46. See Hewitt, "Tawiskaron," p. 709. Further earlier material tending to confirm the relation of Windigo (Vitico) to a primal being standing in opposition to or apposition to a benevolent deity can be found in the accounts of eighteenth-century traders, Drage, Ellis, and Umfreville, cited by Father John M. Cooper, "The Northern Algonkian Supreme Being," *Primitive Man* 7, nos. 3 and 4 (1933): 52, 56, 90–93.
47. Heinz Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975).